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A
LETTER
TO THE
TORIES.

[Price Six-Pence.]

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LETTER

THE

TORIES

A

We do believe that, and believe my soul

LETTER

TO THE
And, indeed, can we not say that
the soul of the nation is in a state of
anxiety and distress?

TORIES
THE SECOND EDITION

THE

[Price Six-Pence]

LONDON:

Printed for H. SAV in Ave-Mary-Lane; and
sold at the Pamphlet-Shops at the Royal-
Exchange, Temple-Bar, and Charing-Cross.

MDCCLXVIII.

H. J.
K

A

LETTER TO THE TORIES.

*We do believe thee, and besbrew my Soul
But I do love the Favour and the Form
Of this most fair Occasion, by the which
We will untread the Steps of damn'd Revolt;
And, like a bated and retired Flood,
Leaving our Rankness and irregular Course,
Stoop low within those Bounds we have o'erlook'd,
And calmly run on in Obedience,
Ev'n to our Ocean, to our Great King JOHN.*
Shakespear.

The SECOND EDITION.



L O N D O N:

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Exchange, Temple-Bar, and Charing-Cross.*

MDCCLVIII.

LETTER TO THE TORIES.

We do believe thee, and believe my soul
But I do love the Power and the Form
Of this most fair Occasion, by the which
We will witness the steps of damn'd Revolt;
And, like a bold and retired Flood,
Leaving our barrens and irregular Courts,
Steep low to win those bounds we have of old;
And calmly run in Obedience,
Even to our Obedience, to our Great King JOHN.
Shakespeare.

THE SECOND EDITION.



Printed for J. B. at the Royal Exchange, and Charing-Cross.
LONDON:
MDCCLXXIII.

~~...were always quite contrary ...
...to be ... to all his ...~~

~~...council, household, and even her bedchamber, with
...Whigs, and yet the ... of this house could~~

~~...never be brought to think of changing hands,
...and ... we would be for ... in any of~~

~~...the various ... of their ... is this to be
...attributed to a ... in those ...
...and the contrary ... in ... No. King~~

LETTER TO THE TORIES.

GENTLEMEN,

I Have a few things to say to you which I think concern you much, and I will endeavour to say them in a few words. It has been matter of wonder to many how it should come to pass that a body of men so considerable, mustering at least two thirds of the gentry, and nine in ten of the clergy of this kingdom, should be so long kept under the hatches by a faction, despicable and detestable in its origin; naturally disagreeable to all princes; never popular, except perhaps in the unthinking seasons of sedition and confusion; superior to you in nothing laudable; and equally inferior in numbers, wealth and virtue. What should be the reason that King *William*, tho' strongly prejudiced in favour of the Whigs, was contented to employ and trust us, and Queen *Anne*, whose in-

clinations were always quite contrary, suffered herself to be persuaded to fill her armies, fleets, council, household, and even her bedchamber, with Whigs; and yet the princes of this house could never be brought to think of changing hands, and trying what we could do for them, in any of the various distresses of their affairs? Is this to be imputed to a natural flexibility in those princes, and the contrary temper in these? No. King *William* is well known to have been a man by nature steady, and even obstinate and self-willed, to a great degree; and the good Queen inherited from her father a constancy very uncommon, and upon several occasions gave convincing and heroic proofs of it. The true reason is that King *William* was satisfied that the Tories, though discontented (and many of them even angry, and, to say the truth, disaffected) had no quarrel with his title, and would at least make him good subjects whilst in power under him, and not betray him only to change a master that employ'd them for one that could do no more and perhaps might not do that; and Queen *Anne* knew the same of the Whigs (so that neither of them exposed themselves to distant dangers merely to get rid of present difficulties, which no wise prince will do; but only sacrificed their inclinations to what they thought their interest, which all wise princes have always done and always will do) But with the princes that succeeded them the case was very different.

different. You may be sure, and it is well known, that early in the Queen's reign the blessed Whigs of those times spared no pains to possess the court of Hanover with an assured persuasion, that there were but two parties in the nation, Hanoverians and Jacobites; and that Whig and Tory were only two other names for those two parties. What impression this made, I pretend not to say or know. It is certain that immediately after the accession of King *George I.* the Whigs found themselves in a most triumphant Situation. It is as certain, and truth obliges us to own, that those Tories who had distinguished themselves in opposing, jointly with the Whigs, such of the late measures as were thought unfavourable to the protestant succession, were also, in the beginning of that reign, employed and rewarded as well as the Whigs. But whatever the King's intentions might be (who in truth was a worthy and well-meaning prince) his Whig ministers, instead of labouring to establish their master's throne upon the only solid basis of an English throne, made it their principal business to supplant their Tory associates, and (contrary, as I have been informed, to the Earl of Halifax's scheme) treated the whole party as if their only view was to drive them to despair and rebellion in order to verify their own calumnies. This design, if it was their design, succeeded, not perfectly indeed (the Tories had too much wit in their anger and too

much virtue for that) but far better than such wicked policy deserved. And our resentments (which stopt not at the ministry, as in all reason, and by the principles of the lowest Toryism, they ought to have done) the breaking out of the rebellion (the first the world had seen without a Whig in it) the ill conduct that many of us fell in to upon that occasion, the actual revolt of some, though but few, the declared affections of others, the fullen tranquillity and seeming indifference of many, and above all things (as that touch'd the whole party without exception) our strict connection and union with known and professed Jacobites, especially in parliament and parliamentary elections, gave such confirmation to the suspicions before had of us both in court and country, both at home and abroad, that it became an established and almost universal opinion that the whole mass and body of the Tories was corrupted, and that there could be no safety in trusting them; which opinion continues to this day.

The consequence is that we are kept out of all publick employments of power and profit, and live like aliens and pilgrims in the land of our nativity; that no quality, no fortune, no eloquence, no learning, no wisdom, no probity is of any use to any man of our unfortunate denomination, ecclesiastick or layman, lawyer or soldier, peer or commoner, for obtaining the most deserved advancement in his profession, or any fa-

your

your from the crown; whilst, to our additional
and insupportable vexation, the bare merit of
hating us, and every thing we love and hold sa-
cred, daily advances dunces in the law and church,
cowards in our fleets and armies, republicans in
the King's house and idiots every where. And,
what is worse than all this, and indeed the worst
thing than can happen to men of honour and
honesty, we lie under the reproach, all the
world over, of the most horrid and impious of all
crimes, wilful and perpetual perjury.

To recover our character, and put our-
selves in a condition to pretend to the favours of
the crown, there is a plain and easy way open-
ing, and there is but one, and this it is; to *untread the*
steps of perverse and peevish opposition, to wipe
our hands at once of the Jacobites and their ruin'd
and ruinous cause, *to do our first works* as well as
profess our old principles, to let the world see (by
our reverence to the person of the King, by sup-
porting his government, by discountenancing the
faucy democratical spirit of sedition, and by a reli-
gious observance of the laws according to the ob-
ligation of our oaths and allegiance) that we are
true Tories, and not disguised and perjured Jaco-
bites. For while we call ourselves Tories and
profess to the King none of those principles which
Tories have always profess'd, but on the contra-
ry oppose and revile him and assist and patronize
his avowed enemies, we must not hope that it
will

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will be believed that in our hearts we acknowledge him for our King, that he to whom we behave so undutifully can be the King we mean when we talk of passive obedience and non-resistance. The world will do us the honour to believe us consistent with ourselves; which the supposition of Jacobitism makes us, and nothing else can. But if we shew ourselves honestly consistent by making our actions agree with the principles we profess, and with our oaths, there is nothing which we may not expect from the favour of the crown. Convince the King (by making and openly avowing this salutary separation from his enemies) that you are loyal and good subjects, and he will not want to be told that you are his best subjects. That will then be self-evident. Convince him that he may employ you with safety, and he will see of himself that he can employ no others so safely, nor with so much ease to himself or advantage to his affairs. He is fond of the love of his people, and knows the plague and inconveniences of governing the greater number by the less: And no King that can have the affection and support of the gentlemen of England and the establish'd church will ever put his trust in a puny antimonarchical faction.

It has been said by a false brother that we are too few to do any thing without the Jacobites, that if we forsake them they will forsake us, and then the Whigs will outnumber us; and therefore

we had better keep as we are, and make the best of a bad market. I deny every thing, both premises and conclusion. 1. With them you can do nothing. You have tried long, and found it so. And if you could do nothing with them formerly, you cannot expect to do any thing now, when the protestant establishment has taken deep root, and daily gains strength by their declining and otherwise.

Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis,
Tempus eget.

Since then you can do nothing with them, what should hinder you from trying at least what you can do without them? 2. The Jacobites will still assist you with their votes, the only assistance they can give you which will not be more hurtful than helpful. They want you infinitely more than you can ever want them, unless you should carry your complaisance for them so far as to bring about a restoration for them; and then indeed you will stand in great need of a return of kindness from them; but if you expect any other than the Presbyterians found from the Cavaliers, you have lost the use of reason. They will never forget the hand you had in the revolution, and will not be so simple as to leave it in your power to make another as soon as you feel the folly of your Royal Exchange, which probably will be pretty soon. But this by the by. I say the Jacobites will still vote for you. Do you think, if the Whigs should resolve

resolve never to chuse a Dissenter member of parliament, that the Dissenters in their anger would resolve never to vote for a Whig, but rather to give their votes to one of us or to a Jacobite? No. The Dissenters will always vote for the Whigs, and the Jacobites for the Tories, whether voted for again or no. All Jacobites are Tories, tho' all Tories be not Jacobites; as every Dissenter is a Whig, though every Whig is not a Dissenter. A Jacobite is a Tory and something more, as a Dissenter is a Whig and something more. All Jacobites have more principles besides Jacobitism, and if they cannot find a man to vote for, that believes all the articles of their creed, they will vote for him that believes the most, for a Whig that is a churchman before a Dissenter, and for the same reason for a Tory that is no Jacobite before any Whig. There is no reason therefore to fear but they will give you their votes and interest (whatever you do in this matter) unless there be Jacobite candidates, in which case you cannot have 'em now. 3. I deny that you have that want of their assistance which is pretended. Their numbers are too great, it must be owned; but nothing nigh so great as their magniloquence and self-deception (in both which they excel mankind) and the malignity of the true-blue Whigs (who are very unwilling to allow any difference betwixt Toryism and Jacobitism) have concurred in representing

'em

em. Believe them not. Believe not your enemies. Believe your friends. Believe yourselves. It is odds, Sir, but you, who are now reading this letter, have yourself some time or other been unjustly thought or suspected to be a Jacobite; and perhaps you can *name* the silly cause and occasion of it. Now if you know that you have been misunderstood and misrepresented, doubt not but the same has happen'd to many others. As I myself have known the same imputation cast upon men that to my certain knowledge were as good subjects as any the King has, and as ready to approve themselves so with their swords in their Hands; upon some only for maintaining the old doctrine of the duty of passive obedience (so evidently due either to all establish'd governments or to none) upon some for ridiculing unreasonable and unseasonable panicks, upon others for calling in question (not very gratefully I confess, but certainly not disloyally) the heroism of King *William's* intentions towards *England* at the Revolution, and many other such frivolous reasons. I would also advise you not to be so hasty, as some have been, to make this conclusion from premises much stronger than these. Suspicion and caution I commend and recommend. But wisdom is as slow to conclude as quick to suspect. Many most unjustifiable actions I have chose to impute, contrary to the general opinion, to unthinking

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disaffection

disaffection and the petulance our young men learnt of the Whig patriots during the late coalition of parties, rather than to any fix'd and determin'd disloyalty ; and have often found myself not mistaken. And for the few protestants (for comparatively they are not many) that really and certainly are Jacobites, as the greater part of 'em became what they are without examination or discourse of reason, by a blind sequacity, they scarce know how themselves and before they were aware ; possibly this separation, this lay excommunication and cutting 'em off from the body of the Tories may prove to them a wholesome discipline ; and, as the spiritual excommunications of ancient times are said to have done to the most harden'd sinners, make 'em examine and bethink themselves and repent and amend.

Besides multitudes are got amongst the Whigs that properly belong to your *corps* ; and all these, if you once set up the standard of true Toryism, unquarter'd with Jacobitism, will naturally join it, being in no other sense Whigs than that they are zealous friends to the present establishment. It was not their choice to be called Whigs, but resolving to hold no communion with Jacobites when you were of another mind, they had no other resort. And when this wall of partition is taken away, their union must necessarily be with you, who never differ'd from them but in one point, and not with the Whigs, who never agreed with 'em but in one.

Others

Others have been cast into their arms by the accident of education, by nature never design'd for Whigs, and much too good for the company they keep. You must all of you have met with many of this kind, and have said, at least in your hearts (what I have heard several moderate Whigs say of moderate Tories) "If all the rest were like these, the difference betwixt the two parties would be more nominal than real."

And there can be no doubt but this sort of Whigs (who have too long done the party an honour in many respects undeserved) for the sake of the great advantages that will follow to the common cause of Anti-jacobitism (and consequently to the whole nation and to all Christendom,) and to make one party of all that wish well to the constitution and protestant establishment (a thing long and ardently desired by all true patriots of both denominations) will gladly strengthen this alliance by their ready and unanimous accession. And that in this comprehension no rigid, narrow terms of communion will be exacted, but on the contrary the right hand of fellowship frankly given you, that all this may be accomplish'd without your departing from the practice or profession of any one Tory principle, that you will be met at least half way, and receiv'd with open arms, that there will be no looking backwards, but all forwards, is too evident to admit of dispute or doubt.

Those of the Clergy, who are now called Whigs,

will lead the way, and will be followed by all of their laity that wish well to the Church and Monarchy, and all that are weary of the licentiousness and anarchy of these times, and desire to see subordination, and reverence of law and magistracy, restored amongst us; and the party, deserted thus by their best men, will soon be reduced to dissenters and commonwealths-men and a few peevish stubborn fellows, in love with their own sourness or the charming sound of their old name; and will not be able to look you in the face either in court or parliament.

This is the only coalition of parties that can do England any good, or indeed subsist for any time. Wretches that know not publick regards, are in perpetual competition for private advantages; and nothing can unite them but the poor illaudable principle that just in the very article of extreme common danger sends every man to the city-wall (for no other reason but because his house will be better defended there with many than singly by himself at his own door) and divides them again as soon as the storm is over. But the union of worthy and good men is built upon the firm and sure foundation of virtue and the love of their country, and lasts and operates accordingly. This will set to rights every thing that is amiss amongst us, except what the degeneracy of the age has made unamendable; as the want of it has been the principal cause of all our misfortunes,
and

and of almost all our other faults, for many years. All the Tories who wish well to this establishment and all the Whigs who love the constitution, united in the administration and defense of the government, would form a body too strong, too homogeneous, and too well compacted and cemented to have any thing to fear from twice the force of all the rest of the nation. A ministry so supported would despise and laugh at the opposition of Jacobites and the few Whigs that would join with them in it, and might apply their whole attention to the great affairs of the nation and of all Europe (which at this time require no less) without any anxiety about parliamentary squabbles. They might, without any danger, exert with spirit and vigour the full power of legal government, check and even suppress the infamous licence of the press (unknown to all other ages and nations, and destructive of all civil society) whet the blunted sword of justice, and make all disloyal subjects feel or fear the edge of it. There would then be no cause why every evil doer should not be brought to that punishment which the law warrants, mercy permits, and good order requires. There would then be no room to say

At such a time as this it is not meet

That every nice offence do bear its comment.

Ministers would then have it in their power to reward modest and unfriended merit notwithstanding

ing the boldest demands in favour of undeservers; and courage, skill, probity, understanding, learning would be the ways to preferment:

Ἐν δὲ διχομασίῃ καὶ Ἀνδρακλείδης πολεμαρχεῖ.

Then the church will be favour'd and rever'd, the King honoured and obey'd, his ministers respected and the nation happy; the Dissenters, Papists and Protestants, will be as happy as they will please to deserve to be, Jacobites and Republicans happier than they deserve, or, in their great wisdom, desire to be, and all the rest of the kingdom so happy, that it will not be in their power not to see it.

Having proved that it is your interest, I shall now endeavour to shew you that it is also your Duty, utterly to break off all union and alliance with the Jacobites, as I have advis'd you to do, and as I have determined to do myself, and many more besides me, and of much greater consequence, indeed of the greatest, and of the highest rank; whom I hope you will as cheerfully and unanimously follow in the right way, as you have formerly done in the wrong.

I. I take it to be the duty of every elector to vote for none but honest men, and he cannot be an honest man that, to get into a prince's council, and there betray and ruin him, promises upon his honour to be true and faithful to him. Observe that I say *promises*. Now if that Word strikes more than if I had said *swears*, and con-

veys a stronger idea of the wickedness of this treachery, to what a pass has the frequency of perjury brought us!

2. I think it a clear rule of conscience to chuse such as are most likely to vote as we should think ourselves bound to do, especially in matters of great importance. How then can a loyal subject put his vote in the mouth of a traitor? Can a Jacobite be the likeliest man to vote as I would do who am no Jacobite?

3. I conceive it to be the duty of a subject by the bonds of allegiance (leaving oaths out of the question) not to support the King's enemies: And to comfort, aid and assist such, to put power of any kind into their hands, which may enable 'em to accomplish their wicked ends, I take to be in conscience, whatever it may be in law, no less than high-treason. Now it is certain that a vote in the house of commons may do the King more harm than a troop or a regiment of Rebels with the voter at the head of 'em. And it is as certain that the Jacobite candidate that asks my assistance does it with an intention to vote in that manner if opportunity offers. Silly and impious as they are, we cannot think that they spend their money and *endanger their Souls gratis*, with no view at all: And what else can be the view of a Jacobite?

4. Our duty to God obliges us to keep our oaths, and our oaths bind us to defend the King and the protestant succession *to the utmost of our power* against

against all attempts whatsoever; and he that sends such a man to parliament is clearly as much a traitor *in foro conscientie*, and as much forsworn, as if he sent his servants and tenants into a rebellion.

5. He is accessary not only to his treason but to his perjury.

6. Our duty to God obliges us to support true religion: And is that done by chusing parliament-men that will do all they can to overturn the protestant establishment? Are we bound to maintain and defend the protestant religion ourselves, and at liberty to vote for such as seek to get into parliament for no other end than to place a bigotted papist upon the throne?

7. Our duty to our country absolutely requires us to change our conduct in this respect. That obliges us to chuse such parliament-men as we think will in all things consult and promote the welfare and true interest of the country: Now you and I do not think the interest of the Pretender to be consistent with the interest of the country: How then can we vote for a Jacobite, who either thinks them to be perfectly the same, or cares not whether they be or no? If we love our country, we can vote only for such as desire to see *France* humbled, which the Jacobites dread as much as the *French*; such as while we have war abroad will endeavour to preserve peace at home, which is not the way to bring in *their* master; such as will carry on the war vigorously in

in order to procure a speedy and permanent peace, both which things the Jacobites detest and deprecate, and must oppose. The *French* are their countrymen, not we. At their successes they rejoice and hold up their heads; at ours they droop and are dejected; and our peace is their ruin.

It will be said perhaps, Do you advise us then to vote for Whigs? I answer, By no means, if you have the opportunity of voting, with probability of success, for gentlemen nearer your own way of thinking: but if the contest lies between Jacobites and Whigs, my answer must be, without the least hesitation, for Whigs, for any body, rather than Jacobites. I will go farther with you. I think that in the case last put you not only may with a safe conscience vote for Whigs, but ought, and are not at liberty to stand neuter; for that very neutrality may bring in a Jacobite, and then to avoid voting for a Whig, because he differs from you in opinion, you have brought in one who differs from you ten times more, and (what clinches the matter, and compleats the inconsistency of your scrupulous casuistry) one that you have sworn not only not to assist but to oppose.

But you do not like to be called turncoats. Away with such childishness! The thing is either your duty or it is not. If you think it is not, say so, and there's an end. But to say (ex-

explicitly or implicitly) I must own it is in strictness my duty, but I cannot bear disgrace,

Ἀιδέομαι Τρώας καὶ Τρωάδας ἐλκεσιπέπλους. —

it is not the voice of a man, much less of a Christian. And who, I pray, are they from whom you apprehend this dreadful appellation, and upon what ground? A turncoat is the angry name for a convert, but you are no converts; how then can you be turncoats? You are not Jacobites 'tis true, but you were not Jacobites before, how then turncoats? You were Tories before, you are Tories still; how then turncoats? I am not writing to Jacobites. I am not endeavouring to persuade them to turn loyal, but loyal Tories not to support their cause. My aim is to incite you, not to change your principles, but to adhere stedfastly to them. And if that brings upon you a reproach which can only belong to change, I do not see how you can avoid it but by deserving it.

But supposing you were Jacobites, and I was endeavouring to convert you from Jacobitism, would the fear of this imputation be a good answer to me? If you had been bred Jacobites (by the by a strange education for a man to give his children that he does not design should be Nonjurors) and had been fully satisfied of your error, must you have continued the profession of Jacobitism and acted accordingly, against the conviction of your own minds? Must you have supported and encouraged

raged rebellion and treason against your lawful King, acknowledg'd and recogniz'd by your own consciences, *daring damnation*, and *giving both the worlds to negligence*, and all this only for fear of an idle, mobbish, black-guard word? If a man is in such a situation that of necessity he must either suffer the reproach of men or of his own conscience; if he deliberates a moment, he is neither a wise nor an honest man.

Therefore let those of you (the glory of our nation) who have held fast their integrity in the great corruption of these times, who have gone on in the good old way of loyalty and obedience, without turning either to the right hand or to the left, either to the treason of the Jacobites or the seditious practices of Republicans, let all such give thanks to God (as they have great cause) for his preventing grace, and rejoice and persevere in their innocence and virtue. And as for such as either thro' heat of youth, extremity of opposition, contagion of company, reverence of imaginary wisdom, bad education, false notions of honour, misrepresentations of persons or things, resentment, personal affection, or any other delusion, have been misled more or less, and done those things which they ought not to have done; they must mend, and not persist in sin to avoid the shame of repentance, remembering that it is the glory of a man to conquer prejudices and submit to truth.

Many

Many other things might be said, well deserving your most serious consideration: But time presses; and perhaps it is no matter. If you fear God and love your country, what has been said is more than sufficient; if not, more would be of no use; you are undone and there is no help for it.

Neque jam Salus servare, si volt, vest potest.

But I will hope better things. Your country, engaged in a war with two great nations and torn with civil dissensions, threaten'd with invasions from abroad and new rebellions at home, calls upon you to assist and save her, and that only by doing what your duty to God and your own private interest jointly demand of you; to sacrifice to her peace and preservation, not your lives or fortunes, but hurtful animosities and unreasonable prejudices. Let her not make such a request in vain.

I am, GENTLEMEN,

Your sincere Well-Wisher,

And humble Servant,

June 9, 1747. J. H.



F I N I S.

